

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MODEL OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE OFFERS TO **PROTECT** ITS CITIZENS' **INALIENABLE RIGHT TO THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS**. BUT HAPPINESS IS NOT THE **ANSWER**.

THE DEMAND PLACED UPON THE CITIZENS OF DEMOCRACY IS AT ONCE **OBSCENE** AND IMPOSSIBLE, IT IS THE MATERNAL SUPEREGO'S IMPERATIVE TO "ENJOY."

"DON'T WORRY, BE HAPPY." AS IF THAT WEREN'T ENOUGH, WE ARE ALSO ALWAYS COMMANDED TO "HAVE A NICE DAY." UNDER SUCH A TERRIFYINGLY "REASONABLE" STATE, WHICH SUPPOSEDLY WANTS ONLY THE BEST FOR EACH AND EVERY ONE OF US, THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS IS A MORAL IMPERATIVE, AND ABJECTION ITSELF IS MADE ABJECT.















**DEATH** WOULD FIND A HONORABLE PLACE IN THE SYMBOLIC ORDER; AND, AS A CONSEQUENCE, LIFE COULD BE LIVED WITH DIGNITY, RATHER THAN CLUNG TO OUT OF FEAR.

AFFIRMATIVE ABJECTION FOR ALL, UNDER MANY GODS, MULTIFARIOUS AND INFINITELY DIVISIBLE. ONLY UNDER SUCH A REGIME COULD WE BE TRULY FREE AND EQUAL BUT DIFFERENT.

UNDER SUCH A STATE, **FREED** FROM THE IMPERATIVE TO PURSUE HAPPINESS, OUR RELATION TO THE **OTHER** WOULD **NOT** HAVE TO BE REPRESENTED IN THE OPTIMISTIC AND SENTIMENTALIZED TERMS OF ENLIGHTENMENT HUMANISM.

THE RELATION TO THE OTHER COULD **FINALLY** BE ACCURATELY BE REPRESENTED AS CHARACTERIZED BY **AGGRESSION**, **JEALOUSY**, **AND FEAR**.



MUTUAL
RECOGNITION
TAKES PLACE
ONLY AS
MUTUAL
CANNIBALISM
OR
MUTUAL
INCORPORATIO







THAT HAPPENED TO ME. I HATE IT WHEN THAT HAPPENS. I'M SO SORRY. I LOVE YOU. YOU WANT WHAT I WANT.





THAT MEANS YOU'RE JUST LIKE ME, DIFFERENCE, ABSOLUTE AND TERRIFYING, SEEMS DEADLY TO THOSE OF US SO ACCUSTOMED...



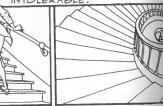
SAMENESS AND HOMOGENEITY.

SAMENESS AND HOMOGENEITY.

FIFFERENCE UNDER THE PRESENT

CONDITIONS IS WHOLLY

INTOLERABLE.



THE NEW MULTICULTURAL
AGENDA IS MERELY A COVERUP
FOR FURTHERING SAMENESS
UNDER AN OFFICIAL
UMBRELLA...



MINION AN IMAGINARY MATERNAL MUSEUM IN WHICH ALL CULTURES WOULD SOMEHOW BECOME POMESTICATED AND EQUIVA-LENT, THAT IS EQUALLY A LOVABLE TO FUNDERS.





UNDER MULTICULTURALISM, DIFFERENCE IS QUICKLY AND EFFECTIVELY BUREAUCRATIZED. IN THE ARTS, MULTICULTURALISM IS PROMOTED NOW AT THE EXPENSE OF A NEW CULTURAL SCAPEGOAT -- OBSCENITY. WHAT IS CALLED "OBSCENITY" SHEEP OF OUR CULTURAL FAMILY, THE UNWANTED, THE CAST OFF, THE ABJECT. WE CAN ALL BE ONE BIG HAPPY MULTI-CULTURAL FAMILY, AS LONG AS NO ONE GETS OBSCENE, IN WHICH CASE, HE OR SHE WILL GET THE BOOT AS WELL.





PAP HAS MADE INROADS IN THIS
AREA FOR BLACK MALES -- BUT
OTHER MINORITIES
HAVE TO SCRAMBLE ...



## THE NEW WORLD ORDER, OR, MORE OF THE SAME

HOW REASSURED WE WERE WHEN EASTERN **EUROPE** AND THE SOVIET UNION COLLAPSED IN ONE YEAR.



THAT IS, IN OUR FAVOR.



FORMS OF HAPPINESS.



AND COMMODITY RECOGNITION, THAT IS, RECOGNITION FOR AND BY COMMODITIES.



OH, THEY ARE JUST LIKE US... THEY WANT WHAT WE WANT.



IN RELATION TO WHAT WAS ONCE THE SOVIET BLOC.



ARE ALWAYS REACTIVE AND LIMITED ...



THE AFFIRMATION OF THE ABJECT, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS INFINITE AND PURE POSITIVITY.



.. THEIR LACK IS OUR LACK IS OUR DESIRE IS THEIR DESIRE ..



WHAT WE DESIRE AND WHAT WE LACK IS AFFIRMED AND SUPPORTED BY THE **OTHER'S CAPITULATION** 



. IN POST-INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY,



REACTIVE FORMS DRAW **UPON THE LIMITLESS** POWER OF THE ABJECT



THE PROBLEM OF **DIFFERENCE SEEMS TO** HAVE BEEN DISPOSED OF SATISFACTORILY...



NOW THEY MAY PURSUE OUR FORMS OF HAPPINESS



.. TO FORMS OF CONSUMPTION ...



... BY REACTING AGAINST IT, DENYING IT.



THE REACTIVE FORM ISNEVERTHELESS POWERFULL BECAU-SE OF ITS DIRECT ADDRESS OF THE ABJECT. THE AFFIRMATION OF

ABJECTION PRODU-CES FORCE AND INTENSITY, MARX'S PRIVILEGING OF ..



AFFIRMATION OF **ABJECTION WITH** WHICH IT IS SO INTIMATE. OBSCE-NITY AND MELO-DRAMA ARE BOTH COMPONENTS OF **AFFIRMATIVE** ABJECTION IN ..



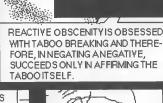
THE PROLETARIAT AS THE MOST POTENT FORCE OF HISTORY HAS TO DO WITH THE PROLETARIAT'S ...

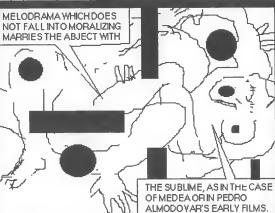


THE REPRESENTATIO-NAL FIELD. NOT ALL FORMS OF OBSCENITY OR MELODRAMAIN ART, HOWEYER, ARE AFFIRMATIVE.



REACTIVE OBSCENITY IS OBSESSED WITH TABOO BREAKING AND THERE-FORE, IN NEGATING ANEGATIVE, SUCCEEDS ONLY IN AFFIRMING THE





BECAUSE WE EXIST UNDER THE TYRANNICAL AND OPPRESSIVE IDEALS OF REASON, OUR FORMS OF ACTING OUT AGAINST AUTHO-RITY ARE, OF COURSE, INCREASIN-GLY IDIO SYNCRATIC, PRIVATIZED. PERVERSE AND ECCENTRIC AND MEDIATED.



## CENSORSHIP AND ENJOYMENT



WHAT IF A CRITICAL MASS OF AMERICANS BEGAN TO ISOLATE INSTANCES OF OBJECTS, PHRASES, AND IMAGES, BOTH AESTHETIC AND NON/AESTHETIC, WHICH THEY FOUND OFFENSIVE, AND DENOUNCED THEM PUBLICLY? WHAT IF WE ALL PERFORMED THE ENJOYABLE ROLE OF THE CENSOR (THIS IS DISGUSTING, LOOK AT THIS, THIS IS OFFENSIVE, LISTEN TO THIS, THIS IS UNBELIEVABLE)? WHAT IF WE BEGAN TO FOCUS ON THIS PLEASURE AND TO DEMOCRATIZE IT, MAKING, AS THE CENSORS DO, OBJECTS OF ENJOYMENT OUT OF OBJECTS OF OFFENSE? WE COULD DEMAND A TELEVISION CHANNEL DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO THE VENTILATION OF OUR NATIONAL DISGUST AND SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS. WE COULD ALL GET OUR FIFTEEN MINUTES OF ENJOYMENT AND MEDIA ATTENTION. OBJECTS AND IMAGES OF OFFENSE WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PRODUCED AND FUNDED SO THAT WE COULD CONTINUE TO ENJOY OUR APPROBATION OF THEM.

GILLES DELEUZE WRITES IN <u>NIETZSCHE AND PHILOSOPHY</u>, "ONLY ACTIVE FORCE ASSERTS ITSELF, IT AFFIRMS ITS DIFFERENCE AND MAKES ITS DIFFERENCE AN OBJECT OF ENJOYMENT AND AFFIRMATION. REACTIVE FORCE, EVEN WHEN IT OBEYS, LIMITS ACTIVE FORCE, IMPOSES LIMITATIONS AND PARTIAL RESTRICTIONS ON IT AND IS ALREADY CONTROLLED BY THE SPIRIT OF THE NEGATIVE."

WHEN A CONSERVATIVE CENSOR LOOKS AT AN IMAGE OF A PENIS, WHAT HE SEES IS THE HOMOEROTIC GAZE ON THAT IMAGE. THE FACT THAT THE CENSOR HAS SEEN THE GAZE OF THE OTHER (HERE THE MALE HOMOSEXUAL) LEADS TO THE CONCLUSION: "THEY (HOMOSEXUALS) DESIRE IT (THE PENIS) BECAUSE THEY SEE IT." THE CENSOR HAS LOCATED THE OBJECT OF DESIRE OF THE OTHER. JACQUES LACAN IN LES PSYCHOSES SAYS THAT "THE OBJECT OF HUMAN INTEREST IS THE OBJECT OF DESIRE OF THE OTHER." WHAT IS OF INTEREST TO THE CENSOR IS PRECISELY WHAT THEY THINK THE OTHER DESIRES. THE CENSOR CANNOT LEAVE THE ENJOYMENT OF OTHERS ALONE.



IT DOES THIS IS BY FUNDING

"OBSCENE" ART

IN ORDER TO ARGUE AGAINST THIS PURITANICAL, STINGY LOGIC, WE HAVE TO SHOW THAT NOT ONLY SHOULD ART BE FUNDED WITHOUT FEAR OF CENSORSHIP, BUT MORE IMPORTANT, WASTE IS NECESSARY. WASTE IS THE AMERICAN WAY. WE NEED TO WASTE TIME AS WELL AS MONEY. LOOK AT THE PENTAGON.

THE TACTICS OF THE RIGHT WING ARE SMART: IT KNOWS HOW TO MOBILIZE ON THE LEVEL OF THE ABJECT AGAINST AFFIRMATIONS OF ABJECTION. IT PLAYS TO THE ABJECT EXPERIENCE OF THE WHITE MIDDLE CLASS (RACISM, HATRED OF POVERTY, FEAR OF IMMIGRANTS, HATRED OF INTENSITY, FEAR OF DIRT AND DEGENERATION, ETC.)

IN RIGHT-WING RHETORIC, THE CONSER VATIVE, LAW-ABIDING, FAMILY-LOVING CITIZEN IS BEING VICTIMIZED BY THE LIBERAL-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY.

THE RIGHT WING HAS SUCCESSFULLY
CONSTRUCTED ITSELF AS "OBJECT A,"
THAT SPECIAL SUBSTANCE
THAT MAKES AMERICA AMERICA,
AND IN DOING SO, CONSTRUCTED
THE LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT
AS A BIG OTHER
AGAINST WHICH THE SPECIAL ONES
MUST REBEL, BECAUSE
THE BIG OTHER IS OUT TO
GET THEM.



## THE PARTY FOR AFFIRMATIVE ABJECTION

WHEN WILL THERE BE A PARTY OF AFFIRMATIVE ABJECTION THAT WILL BE ABLE TO RESPOND TACTICS OF THE RIGHT WING BY DIRECTLY ADDRESSING THE ABJECT QUANTITIES OF ENVY AND RESENTMENT? UNTIL A PARTY OF AFFIRMATIVE ABJECTION COMES TO BE, THE STATE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF ITS PEOPLE, EXCEPT IN A FEARFUL AND COWARDLY WAY, SEDUCING AND PACIFYING THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION BY DEMONIZING AND VILIFYING A MINORITY AFRICAN- AMERICANS, INTELLECTUALS, WOMEN, -BE THEY ARTISTS, HISPANO-AMERICANS, ASIAN -AMERICANS, THE POOR, THE UNEMPLOYED, JEWS, OR HOMOSEXUALS OF EITHER SEX. UNTIL THIS POLITICAL FORMATION OF AFFIRMATIVE ABJECTION ARISES. OUR DEMOCRACY WILL BE NOTHING MORE THAN THE MAINTENANCE OF

THE TYRANNY OF A SLIGHT AND

THAN AFFIRMATIVE ABJECTION.

AGGLOMERATION OF RESTLESS
AFFAIRS IS UNACCEPTABLE.

MINORITIES. THE STATE OF
DEMAND NOTHING LESS

DEFENSIVE MAJORITY OVER A GROWING

